

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SAIGON 00664 01 OF 04 181038Z

15

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00 AID-05 EB-07 PM-03 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 DPW-01 PRS-01

OMB-01 SS-15 /091 W

----- 082987

P R 181005Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1981

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CIA

DIA

JCS

JUSMAAG

WHITE HOUSE

USAJFKCMA/ATCS-WL-DSA

4TH PSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC

CINCPAC

CINCPACAF

CINCPACFLT

DEPCHIEF JUSMAAG UDORN

AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

AMCONSUL CAN THO

AMCONSUL DANANG

AMCONSUL NHA TRANG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SAIGON 00664 01 OF 04 181038Z

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USDAO SAIGON
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 SAIGON 0664

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MILI, EGEN, PGOV, PINR, VN

SUBJ: EMBASSY SAIGON NORTH VIET-NAM BI-WEEKLY NO. 26

SUMMARY: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ON PHUOC LONG FIGHTING HAS CONCENTRATED ON JUSTIFYING THE ATTACKS RATHER THAN GLORIFYING THEM. RECENT ARTICLES BY SENIOR GENERALS GIAP AND DUNG UNDERSCORE THE DELICACY OF THE BALANCE BETWEEN "GUNS AND BUTTER" AS HANOI ATTEMPTS TO PURSUE THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH SIMULTANEOUSLY. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS FROM THE NORTH INDICATE THAT THE REGIME IS CONDUCTING A PURGE OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-LEVEL CADRES WHO HAVE ABUSED THEIR POSITIONS WITHIN MANAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES TO REAP PERSONAL GAINS. THE VWP POLITBURO ISSUED A DIRECTIVE ON CELEBRATING THREE IMPORTANT QUINTENNIAL ANNIVERSARIES DURING 1975 BUT FILED TO ALLUDE TO A POSSIBLE PARTY CONGRESS THIS YEAR. THE REGIME WANTS TO TONE DOWN TET CELEBRATIONS THIS YEAR BUT SEEMS UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW FAR IT CAN GO IN THIS DIRECTION. PHAM VAN DONG'S APPEARANCE AT A RECENT FAMILY PLANNING CONFERENCE EMPHASIZES HANOI'S CONCERN WITH THE EXPLOSIVE RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THE NORTH. DRV FOREIGN MINISTER TRINH CONTINUES HIS HIGHLY PERSONALIZED DIPLOMACY WITH THAILAND, FIRING OFF AN URGENT LETTER TO PROTEST ALLEGED USE BY THE U.S. OF THAI FACILITIES TO AID THE GVN AND PROMISING TO STUDY AND REPLY TO THE RTG'S RESPONSE TO HIS LETTER OF DECEMBER 26 SETTING FORTH CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS. AN AMERICAN GROUP, INCLUDING THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDOCHINA RESOURCES CENTER, WAS RECEIVED BY PREMIER DONG. "PRG" PRESIDENT HUYNH TAN PHAT LED A DELEGATION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SAIGON 00664 01 OF 04 181038Z

ON A VISIT OF UNDETERMINED SIGNIFICANCE TO COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED AREAS OF CAMBODIA. DRV AMBASSADORS TO THE NETHERLANDS AND NORTH KOREA HAVE PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AND TWO MORE COUNTRIES HAVE RECOGNIZED THE "PRG". END SECRET NOFORN. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL.

PART I: DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTH

PROPAGANDA ON PHUOC LONG FIGHTING

1. COMMUNIST PROPAGANDISTS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DOWNPLAY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT ACTIVITY IN PHUOC LONG PROVINCE WHICH CULMINATED IN THE JANUARY 9 OVER-RUNNING OF THE PROVINCIAL CAPITAL, SONG BE. AT THE SAME TIME, HANOI-CONTROLLED MEDIA HAVE VARIOUSLY CONDEMNED AND RIDICULED US AND GVN REACTIONS TO THE ATTACKS, STATING, PREDICTABLY, THAT COMMUNIST ACTIONS WERE NECESSITATED BY US-SPONSORED GVN VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE IN PHUOC LONG AND ELSEWHERE AND THAT US AND GVN PROTESTS WERE DESIGNED TO "COVER UP" THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR "THE PRESENT DANGEROUS SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM."

2. UNLIKE EARLIER COMMUNIST CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS, MEDIA MADE ONLY CURSORY REFERENCE TO THE PHUOC LONG CAMPAIGN AS A "GREAT VICTORY". INSTEAD THEY FOCUSED ON THE SUPPOSED JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE ATTACKS AND, WHEN THE GVN AIRCRAFT LAUNCHED RETALITORY AIRSTRIKES IN THE LOC NINH AREA (ALLEGEDLY "GUIDED" BY U.S. RECONNAISSANCE PLANES), ATTEMPTED TO DIRECT PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THESE GVN "OUTRAGES"

IN DECRYING THE NEW ROUND OF BOMBING, ONE HANOI BROADCAST NOTED THAT "LOC NINH HAS BEEN UNDER PRGSRV CONTROL FOR A LONG TIME", CONVENIENTLY IGNORING THE FACT THAT PHUOC LONG HAS BEEN IN GVN HANDS CONSIDERABLY LONGER.

3. AS THE ABOVE EXAMPLE INDICATES, HANOI APPARENTLY FEELS THAT, IN PROPAGANDA TERMS AT LEAST, IT CAN GET AWAY WITH ANYTHING. NOWHERE IS THIS MORE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAN IN THE COMMUNISTS' REJECTION OF THE GVN'S APPEAL FOR A TEMPORARY ARMISTICE TO ALLOW THE EVACUATION FROM SONG BE OF NON-COMBATANTS AND THE WOUNDED. THE COMMUNISTS LABELLED THE GVN APPEAL "A SHAMELESS HUMANITARIAN TRICK".

PART II: STRATEGY AND PLANNING

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SAIGON 00664 01 OF 04 181038Z

GIAP AND DUNG ON THE DELICATE BALANCE

1. RECENT COMMENTARIES BY HANOI'S TWO SENIOR GENERALS HIGHLIGHT THE DELICATE BALANCE BETWEEN "GUNS AND BUTTER" IMPLICIT IN THE REGIME'S CURRENT POLICIES. THE ARTICLES, ATTRIBUTED TO MINISTER OF DEFENSE VO NGUYEN GIAP AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF, VAN TIEN DUNG, WERE PUBLISHED ON THE RECENT ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMED FORCES AND CLEARLY ARE MEANT AS MAJOR GUIDELINES TO THE PEOPLE AS WELL AS THE ARMY.

2. GIAP ARGUES THAT THE REGIME HAS FOUND A WAY TO "HARMONIZE" RECONSTRUCTION AND THE DEMANDS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND IMPLIES THAT CONTINUING SOVIET AND CHINESE AID HAS HELPED TO FACILITATE THE PROCESS. REITERATING A LINE THAT HAS APPEARED IN OTHER RECENT

COMMENTARY AS WELL AS IN EARLIER WORKS OF HIS OWN, HE ASSERTS THAT THE BALANCE OF FORCES HAS ALREADY SHIFTED IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION BECAUSE THE REGIME HAS SUCCEEDED IN MARRYING A "PEOPLE'S ARMY" WITH A VARIETY OF MODERN WEAPONS. ALTHOUGH HE DESCRIBES "REVOLUTIONARY WAR" IN PRINCIPLE AS A "PROTRACTED" AFFAIR, HE ADDS THAT IT IS ALWAYS NECESSARY TO BE ON THE ALERT FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO ACHIEVE "GREAT VICTORIES". HE SUGGESTS THAT ONE OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES NOW EXISTS SINCE THE GVN FACES A SERIOUS CRISIS AND SURVIVES ONLY AS A RESULT OF ASSISTANCE FROM THE US WHICH

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SAIGON 00664 02 OF 04 181054Z

12

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00 AID-05 EB-07 PM-03 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 DPW-01 PRS-01

OMB-01 SS-15 /091 W

----- 083062

P R 181005Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1982

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CIA

DIA

JCS

JUSMAAG

WHITE HOUSE

USAJFKCMA/ATCS-WL-DSA

4TH PSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC

CINCPAC
CINCPACAF
CINCPACFLT
DEPCHIEF JUSMAAG UDORN
AMCONSUL BIEN HOA
AMCONSUL CAN THO
AMCONSUL DANANG
AMCONSUL NHA TRANG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SAIGON 00664 02 OF 04 181054Z

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USDAO SAIGON
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 SAIGON 0664

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

IS ALSO IN AN "ISOLATED" AND CRITICAL POSITION. UNLIKE MILITARY COMMENTATORS WHO APPEARED IN PRINT PRIOR TO THE 1972 OFFENSIVE, HE DOES NOT CALL FOR LARGE MAIN FORCE ATTACKS TO EXPLOIT THIS SITUATION AND TIP THE BALANCE DECISIVELY. INSTEAD, HIS EMPHASIS IS ON THE NEED FOR TIME AND A STRATEGY OF GRADUAL ATTRITION AND ESCALATION, SUCH AS HE PROPOSED IN ALMOST EXACTLY THE SAME TERMS IN DECEMBER 1969. "WE NEED TIME," HE SAYS, "TO ANNIHILATE THE ENEMY BIT BY BIT, TO DEFEAT HIS STRATEGIES ONE BY ONE, TO REPEL HIM STEP BY STEP, TO GRADUALLY SHIFT THE BALANCE OF FORCES BETWEEN US AND THE ENEMY AND TO WIN PARTIAL VICTORIES WHILE PROCEEDING TOWARD TOTAL VICTORY."

3. ECHOING A THEME SET OUT IN THE PARTY JOURNAL IN AUGUST 1974, GENERAL DUNG'S ARTICLE FOCUSES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING AN "EQUILIBRIUM" BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS. IT ASSERTS THAT A STRONG ARMY REQUIRES A STRONG NATIONAL ECONOMY AND IT CALLS ON THE ARMY ITSELF TO COOPERATE IN FULFILLING ECONOMIC TASKS. ALTHOUGH SUCH FORMULATIONS OSTENSIBLY SUBORDINATE DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS TO ECONOMIC ONES, THEY DO NOT FORECLOSE A SUDDEN SHIFT IN EMPHASIS, AS WAS DEMONSTRATED IN EARLY 1972, WHEN THE REGIME PUBLISHED A SIMILAR ARTICLE BY GENERAL GIAP ON THE NEED TO "CONCENTRATE" FORCES TO BUILD THE ECONOMY -- AND THEN PROMPTLY LAUNCHED THE EASTER OFFENSIVE. DUNG IN FACT DOES ACKNOWLEDGE THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUDDEN CHANGE IN POLICY, SAYING THAT "WHEN THE WAR BREAKS OUT" OR IN THE EVENT OF CRISIS, "WE MAY HAVE TO CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS ON MEETING ALL THE REQUIREMENTS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND

OF THE WAR."

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SAIGON 00664 02 OF 04 181054Z

4. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE GIAP AND DUNG ARTICLES STRENGTHEN THE CONCLUSION THAT THE CURRENT COMMUNIST MILITARY EFFORT IS NOT UNIVERSALLY SUPPORTED IN HANOI AND IS NECESSITATING SOME FINE RATIONALIZATIONS BY THE MILITARY PERSONALITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. ON THE ONE HAND, THE COMMENTARIES SEEM AIMED AT ASSURING AN UNNAMED AUDIENCE -- PRESUMABLY THOSE CADRE WHO REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE SLOW PACE OF RECONSTRUCTION -- THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS NOT BEING FORGOTTEN AND WILL NOT BE SACRIFICED AS RESULT OF THE CURRENT EMPHASIS ON "REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE" IN THE SOUTH. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY ALSO APPEAR TO BE DESIGNED TO JUSTIFY THE HEIGHTENED MILITARY ACTION (NEW OPPORTUNITIES EXIST, THE US AND GVN FACE CRISES) AND TO SERVE NOTICE THAT A GREATER MILITARY COMMITMENT CANNOT BE RULED OUT IF THINGS DO NOT GO WELL OR IF STILL ADDITIONAL "OPPORTUNITIES" PRESENT THEMSELVES.

5. THE PATTERN OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY AND MILITARY PREPARATIONS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE GIAP-DUNG ARTICLES. TO DATE, THE COMMUNISTS' CURRENT MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH VIETNAM HAS INVOLVED ESCALATION ALONG THE LINES WHICH GIAP PRESCRIBES. THE ON-GOING MANPOWER AND MATERIEL FLOW FROM NORTH VIETNAM, WHILE SUFFICIENT (ALONG WITH EXISTING PERSONNEL AND SUPPLY POOLS IN THE SOUTH) TO FACILITATE THE HEIGHTENED INITIATIVES HAS NOT YET NECESSITATED MAJOR MOBILIZATION IN THE NORTH WHICH WOULD BRING THE ISSUE OF "GUNS" VERSUS "BUTTER" TO A CRITICAL HEAD AND WHICH WOULD FORCE LEADERSHIP TO CHOOSE DEFINITELY OR AT LEAST PUBLICLY BETWEEN THE TWO. MOREOVER, THE STRATEGIC RESERVE DIVISIONS IN NORTH VIETNAM HAVE SO FAR BEEN LEFT IN PLACE, WITH EXISTING COMMUNIST STRENGTH IN THE SOUTH BEING AUGMENTED BY COMBAT INFILTRATORS AND BY ELEMENTS OF THE NVA 968TH DIVISION FROM SOUTHERN LAOS. WHILE THIS REINFORCEMENT PROCEDURE DOES NOT IMPLY AN EFFORT TO PULL PUNCHES, IT DOES SUGGEST THAT THE REGIME HAS SO FAR BEEN ATTEMPTING TO PURSUE ITS AIMS SOMEWHAT CIRCUITOUSLY, POSSIBLY TO AVOID DRAWING ATTENTION AT HOME AND ABROAD TO ITS INCREASING COMMITMENT IN THE SOUTH.

6. THE REGIME'S RELUCTANCE TO TIP ITS HAND TO DOMESTIC OR OUTSIDE OBSERVERS RAISES A PROVOCATIVE QUESTION ABOUT ITS FUTURE OPTIONS. IF ITS CAUTION IS INDEED MOTIVATED BY SOME CONCERN FOR THE REPERCUSSIONS AT HOME AND AMONG CADRE WHO ARE WORRIED ABOUT RECONSTRUCTION, THEN THE NEXT ROUND OF DECISION MAKING IN HANOI COULD WELL BE A DIFFICULT AFFAIR, PARTICULARLY IF THE CURRENT MILITARY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SAIGON 00664 02 OF 04 181054Z

CAMPAIGN IS NOT SUCCESSFUL IN ITS OBJECTIVE OF WEAKENING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LEADERSHIP IS FORCED TO CONTEMPLATE UPPING THE ANTE AND ITS RESOURCE COMMITMENT IN THE SOUTH, AS BOTH GIAP AND DUNG SUGGEST MAY BE NECESSARY.

PART III. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTH

A. PURGING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

REPORTS FILTERING OUT OF NORTH VIETNAM INDICATE THAT A MAJOR PURGE IS UNDERWAY AGAINST LOWER AND MIDDLE LEVEL CADRE ON THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES WHO HAVE BEEN INDULGING IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FOR PERSONAL PROFIT. THE CRACKDOWN, WHICH REPORTEDLY HAS BECOME QUITE WIDESPREAD, IS DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT ABUSES OF THE REGIME'S SOMEWHAT LIBERAL, IF UNOFFICIAL, POLICIES COVERING THE CULTIVATION OF PRIVATE PLOTS. DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE WAR, THE REGIME PERMITTED AGRICULTURAL CADRE TO PLANT AND CULTIVATE SMALL TRACES OF LAND ON THE COOPERATIVES TO SUPPLEMENT REGULAR OUTPUT; FROM TIME TO TIME IT EVEN REWARDED "HEROIC" SOLDIERS WITH A SMALL PLOT WHICH THEY WERE ALLOWED TO MANAGE IN THEIR SPARE TIME. SINCE THE PARIS ACCORDS, HOWEVER, SUCH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE APPARENTLY HAS BEGUN TO OFFEND THE REGIME'S SENSE OF SOCIALIST PROPRIETY, IN PART BECAUSE FOOD SHORTAGES HAVE WORSENED AND RICE PRICES HAVE CONTINUED TO RISE, AND IN PART BECAUSE PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS HAVE BEGUN TO GO ABOUT THEIR WORK WITH EMBARRASSING ZEAL, DIVERTING THEIR PRODUCE FOR HIGH PROFITS TO THE BLACK MARKET AND ENLISTING FELLOW CADRE IN PROLIFERATING DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS. IN THE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SAIGON 00664 03 OF 04 181041Z

15
ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00 AID-05 EB-07 PM-03 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 DPW-01 PRS-01

OMB-01 SS-15 /091 W
----- 083004

P R 181005Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1983
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL JEC PARIS
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CIA
DIA
JCS
JUSMAAG
WHITE HOUSE
USAJFKCMA/ATCS-WL-DSA
4TH PSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC
CINCPAC
CINCPACAF
CINCPACFLT
DEPCHIEF JUSMAAG UDORN
AMCONSUL BIEN HOA
AMCONSUL CAN THO
AMCONSUL DANANG
AMCONSUL NHA TRANG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SAIGON 00664 03 OF 04 181041Z

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USDAO SAIGON
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 SAIGON 0664

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FALL OF 1974, THE REGIME DECIDED TO PUT THE BRAKES TO THESE ABUSES THROUGH A SERIES OF AGRICULTURAL DIRECTIVES THAT WERE MEANT TO RATIONALIZE THE PRODUCTION SYSTEM AND TO ELIMINATE THE BLACK MARKET IN CERTAIN CRITICAL FOODSTUFFS. IN NOVEMBER AND EARLY DECEMBER, REPORTING FROM NORTH VIETNAM CONFIRMED THAT FOOD-

STUFFS HAD BEEN BANISHED FROM THE SEMI-OFFICIAL FREE MARKET AND THAT PROFITEERS IN THE COOPERATIVES WERE BEING ARRESTED. IN THE MOST RECENT REPORTS, HOWEVER, WHILE THERE CONTINUES TO BE EVIDENCE OF ARRESTS AND OTHER DISCIPLINARY ACTION, THERE ARE ALSO SIGNS THAT THE CRACKDOWN IS BEGINNING TO HAVE DIMINISHING EFFECTS AS THE PEOPLE'S DRIVE FOR A LITTLE OF THE BETTER LIFE CONTINUES TO ASSERT ITSELF. RICE AND FOODSTUFFS, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE BEGUN TO RESURFACE ON THE FREE MARKET, AND SOME HANOIANS REPORTEDLY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE REGIME'S PROTESTATIONS ABOUT UNSOCIALIST BEHAVIOR WILL HAVE LITTLE LONG-RANGE PRACTICAL EFFECT.

B. PREPARATIONS FOR ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS BEGIN

1. THE VWP POLITBURO ON JANUARY 7 ISSUED A DIRECTIVE ON CELEBRATION OF THREE "GREAT ANNIVERSARIES" IN 1975: THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY ON FEBRUARY 3; THE 85TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF HO CHI MINH ON MAY 19; AND THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DRV ON SEPTEMBER 2. THE POLITBURO DIRECTIVE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE ANNIVERSARIES WILL OCCASION INCREASED DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PROPAGANDA EFFORTS, WITH NEW PRESS, MOTION PICTURE AND LITERARY RELEASES. PUBLICATIONS IN 1975 WILL INCLUDE A BIOGRAPHY OF HO CHI MINH, A SELECTION OF HO'S WORKS, AND A HISTORY OF THE VWP.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SAIGON 00664 03 OF 04 181041Z

2. THE ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE IN THE POLITBURO DIRECTIVE TO A VWP NATIONAL CONGRESS CASTS SOME DOUBT ON EARLIER SPECULATION THAT SUCH A CONGRESS MIGHT BE HELD IN 1975. GIVEN THE APPARENT SCOPE OF THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH WILL SURROUND THE UPCOMING ANNIVERSARIES, VWP LEADERS MAY HAVE DECIDED TO USE THE CELEBRATIONS (WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN HELD IN ANY CASE) TO FULFILL AT LEAST THE MASS PROPAGANDA FUNCTION OF A CONGRESS.

C. LETTER WRITER PROPOSES "NEW CONCEPT OF TET"

1. IN A LETTER PUBLISHED JANUARY 12 IN THE "READERS' OPINIONS" COLUMN OF "NHAN DAN," LE BA HONG DEPLORED THE "NEGATIVE ASPECTS" OF LUNAR NEW YEAR CELEBRATIONS IN THE NORTH. COMPLAINING THAT TET CELEBRATIONS HAVE AN "EXCESSIVELY ADVERSE IMPACT" ON WORK PERFORMANCE, LE BA HONG NOTED THAT BOTH CADRES AND PEOPLE "TEND TO WORK IN A PERFUNCTORY MANNER" FOR THE TEN DAYS BEFORE AND AFTER THE HOLIDAY. HE ALSO CRITICIZED OVER-CONSUMPTION DURING THE HOLIDAY PERIOD AND BEMOANED THE INORDINATE STRAINS PLACED ON THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM BY PEOPLE GOING TO VISIT RELATIVES. ALTHOUGH HE ADMITS THAT THE TET HOLIDAYS "ARE DIFFERENT FROM OTHER DAYS," HONG FAULTED DRV NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO BROADCASTS FOR EXTOLLING THE TRADITIONAL NATURE OF TET CELEBRATIONS, SAYING MEDIA SHOULD INSTEAD FOSTER A "NEW CONCEPT OF TET" CONSISTENT WITH THE "NEW CUSTOMS THAT ARE TAKING SHAPE."

HONG SUGGESTED THAT "ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES" BE IMPLEMENTED TO EFFECT "GRADUAL" CHANGES WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE HOLIDAY BEING CELEBRATED IN "A JOYFUL AND HEALTHY, YET ECONOMICAL, SPIRIT."

2. THE FACT THAT A LETTER TO "NHAN DAN" WAS CHOSEN AS THE MEANS OF FLOATING PROPOSALS TO TONE DOWN TET CELEBRATIONS REFLECTS THE DILEMMA OF NORTH VIETNAMESE LEADERS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO END THE ECONOMIC CDISRUPTION INVARIABLY CAUSED BY THE TRADITIONAL, ALL-OUT CELEBRATION OF THE LUNAR NEW YEAR. THE HANOI REGIME HAS APPEARED RELUCTANT IN THE PAST TO ADOPT THE "ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES" CALLED FOR IN HONG'S LETTER FOR FEAR OF ALIENATING THE WAR-WEARY POPULACE. WHETHER DRV LEADERS NOW ARE MORE WILLING TO INTRODUCE WHAT WOULD BE UNIVERSALLY UNPOPULAR RESTRICTIONS ON TET CELEBRATIONS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. END CONFIDENTIAL. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SAIGON 00664 03 OF 04 181041Z

D. DONG APPEARS BEFORE BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE

EMPHASIZING THE REGIME'S CONCERN OVER NORTH VIETNAM'S EXPLOSIVE POPULATION GROWTH RATE, PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG VISITED A FAMILY PLANNING CONFERENCE HELD IN HAI HUNG PROVINCE, APPARENTLY IN EARLY JANUARY. DONG REPORTEDLY CONGRATULATED YOUNG NORTHERN COUPLES ON THEIR "INITIAL SUCCESSES" IN FAMILY PLANNING AND STRESSED THAT FAILURE TO PRACTICE BIRTH CONTROL WOULD HAVE AN ADVERSE IMPACT NOT ONLY ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES BUT ALSO ON THEIR MARITAL RELATIONS AND ON THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. A REPORT ISSUED AT THE CONFERENCE CLAIMED THAT "HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS" OF COUPLES WERE PRACTICING BIRTH CONTROL AND THE CONFERENCE CHAIRPERSON, SUMMING UP THE SESSION, AVERRED THAT "RESULTS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT OVER PAST YEARS" WERE GROUNDS FOR "HOPE AND CONFIDENCE THAT AN EFFECTIVE AND RAPID REDUCTION OF THE POPULATION GROWTH RATE MAY BE ACHIEVED IN A NOT VERY LONG TIME". (COMMENT: HANOI OFFICIALDOM IS APPARENTLY ALARMED OVER THE IMPLICATION OF DATA COLLECTED IN LAST APRIL'S GENERAL CENSUS. WITH AN ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF AROUND THREE PERCENT AND ONE-HALF THE POPULATION UNDER 15 YEARS OF AGE, ALARM IS JUSTIFIED. END COMMENT.) END UNCLASSIFIED. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL.

E. DRV/THAILAND: MORE FLAK FROM HANOI

1. IN AN "URGENT MESSAGE" TO HIS THAI COUNTERPART, DRV FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN DUY TRINH CONDEMNED THE RTG FOR ALLEGEDLY COUNTENANCING THE USE OF THAI AIRBASES BY US RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT WHICH "DIRECTLY GUIDED" VNAF BOMBERS DURING RECENT RAIDS IN THE LOC NINH AREA. TRINH DEMANDED THAT THE RTG CEASE ITS "ASSISTANCE" TO THE US AND GVN IN THE LATTERS' "SABOTAGE" OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER HANOI ACTUALLY BELIEVES THIS ALLEGATION OR,

RECOGNIZING THAT US BASES ARE AN ISSUE IN CURRENT THAI
POLITICKING, HOPE TO INFLUENCE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEBATE IN
THAILAND, OR BOTH. END COMMENT.)

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SAIGON 00664 04 OF 04 181100Z

12

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00 AID-05 EB-07 PM-03 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 DPW-01 PRS-01

OMB-01 SS-15 /091 W

----- 083113

P R 181005Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1984

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CIA

DIA

JCS

JUSMAAG

WHITE HOUSE

USAJFKCMA/ATCS-WL-DSA

4TH PSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC

CINCPAC

CINCPACAF

CINCPACFLT

DEPCHIEF JUSMAAG UDORN

AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

AMCONSUL CAN THO

AMCONSUL DANANG
AMCONSUL NHA TRANG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SAIGON 00664 04 OF 04 181100Z

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USDAO SAIGON
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 SAIGON 0664

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

2. TRINH ALSO STATED THAT THE THAI FOREIGN MINISTER'S DECEMBER 30 RESPONSE TO HIS LETTER OF DECEMBER 26 "IS BEING STUDIED AND WILL BE ANSWERED". ON JANUARY 6 THE DRV FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN OFFERED "INITIAL COMMENTS" ON THE THAI RESPONSE, STATING THAT THE RTG'S "GREAT EMBARRASSMENT" WAS EVIDENT IN THE FACT THAT BANGKOK FAILED TO "DEAL WITH THE KEY PROBLEMS" (I.E. U.S. BASES) RAISED IN TRINH'S MISSIVE. THE SPOKESMAN WENT ON TO REITERATE THE STANDARD LITANY CONCERNING RTG "COLLUSION" IN US "AGGRESSION" IN INDOCHINA AND TO CONDEMN ALLEGED REPRESSION OF VIETNAMESE RESIDENTS IN THAILAND. NONETHELESS, THE SPOKESMAN IMPLIED THAT THE DRV WAS STILL WILLING TO GIVE THE RTG A CHANCE TO ATONE FOR ITS INS OF THE PAST, NOTING THAT "A GOOD OPPORTUNITY HAS NOW ARISEN" FOR THAILAND TO REMOVE "THE ONLY OBSTACLE TO THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES", I.E., THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN THAILAND. THE DRV'S UPCOMING FORMAL RESPONSE WILL, NO DOUBT, DISPLAY SIMILAR BENEVOLENCE. END CONFIDENTIAL. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

F. PHAM VAN DONG RECEIVES AMERICAN GUESTS

1. PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG ON JANUARY 9 MET AND HAD A "CORDIAL TALK" WITH INDOCHINA RESOURCE CENTER (IRC) REPRESENTATIVES FRED BRANFMAN, GARETH PORTER AND DAVID MARR, AND THREE OTHER AMERICANS IDENTIFIED BY RADIO HANOI'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SERVICE AS FRANCES FITZGERALD, HOLLY NEAR AND JEFF LANGLEY. THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE DRV PREMIER IS NOT KNOWN. THE AMERICANS APPARENTLY HAVE BEEN IN NORTH VIETNAM SINCE LATE DECEMBER. NEITHER THEIR ACTIVITIES DURING THAT PERIOD NOR THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SAIGON 00664 04 OF 04 181100Z

PURPOSE OF THEIR VISIT TO NORTH VIETNAM HAVE BEEN PUBLICIZED BUT IT PRECEDES BY A BARE TWO WEEKS THE SO-CALLED ASSEMBLY TO SAVE HE HZVIETNAM PEACE AGREEMENT SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON JANUARY 25-27.

2. LIBERATION RADIO ON JANUARY 14 BROADCAST A BRIEF RECORDED STATEMENT BY GARETH PORTER. HIS REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED PRIMARILY TO THE QUESTION OF PRESS FREEDOMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND HE ACCUSED THE U.S. OF HAVING "RIGGED UP" AN ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM WHICH HAS "BARBAROUSLY REPRESSED" SUCH FREEDOMS. THE LIBERATION RADIO BROADCAST NOTED THAT A STATEMENT BY FRED BRANFMAN WOULD BE BROADCAST LATER. END UNCLASSIFIED. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL.

G. "PRGRSV"-NLFSV DELEGATION VISITS CAMBODIA.

1. JUYNH TAN PHAT, PRESIDENT OF THE SO-CALLED "PRG" AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NLFSV CENTRAL COMMITTEE (NLFSVCC) PRESIDUM, LED A "PRG"-NLFSV DELEGATION ON AN "OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT" TO THE "LIBERATED AREAS" OF CAMBODIA DECEMBER 25-29. THE DELEGATION INCLUDED "PRG" DEFENSE MINISTER (ALIAS) TRAN NAM TRUNG AND "PRG" FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN THI BINH.

2. THE VISITORS HELD TALKS WITH "RGNUC" VICE-PREMIER AND DEFENSE MINISTER KHIEU SAMPHAN. COMMUNIST MEDIA PROVIDED NO INDICATION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TALKS, ALTHOUGH A JANUARY 8 "NHAN DAN" EDITORIAL CLAIMED "THE TWO SIDES" WERE IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON ALL PROBLEMS RAISED". AT A DECEMBER 28 CEREMONY, HUYNH TAN PHAT NOTED THAT THE CAMBODIAN INSURGENCY IS "AN IN-VALUABLE ENCOURAGEMENT AND ASSISTANCE" TO THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS, REITERATED VIET CONG COMMITMENT TO THE GOALS SET FORTH AT THE 1970 INDOCHINESE PEOPLES' SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND EXPRESSED CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR SIHANOUK'S MARCH 23, 1970, STATEMENT. IN A REFLECTION OF THE SURVIVING SPIRIT OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, PHAT NOTED THAT "LIBERATED AREAS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM, CAMBODIA AND LAOS "HAVE ADJOINED AND FORMED AN INTERCONNECTING LINK" WITH THE DRV, THUS PROVIDING THE OPPORTUNITY "FOR OUR PEOPLES TO AID AND ASSIST EACH OZZM IN THE DECEMBER 28 JOINT STATEMENT, BOTH SIDES REAFFIRMED "THEIR DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL SUPPORT" BETWEEN THEM. (COMMENT: WITHOUT MORE INFORMATION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SAMPHAN/PHAT TALKS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE THE PURPOSE OF THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SAIGON 00664 04 OF 04 181100Z

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION'S VISIT OR TO ASSESS ITS RESULTS. END COMMENT)
END CONFIDENTIAL. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

H. ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

1. LE QUANG KHAI, THE DRV'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO NORTH KOREA, ARRIVED IN PYONGYANG ON JANUARY 3 AND PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS TO DPRK VICE PRESIDENT KANG YANG-UK ON JANUARY 6.

2. QUEEN JULIANA OF THE NETHERLANDS, RECEIVED THE CREDENTIALS OF DRV AMBASSADOR VO VAN SUNG ON JANUARY 9. THE DRV ENVOY IS RESIDENT IN PARIS.

3. TWO MORE COUNTRIES HAVE RECOGNIZED HANOI'S SOUTHERN APPENDAGE, THE "PRG". GABON, WHOSE PRESIDENT HAD INDICATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO EXTEND RECOGNITION AT THE SEPTEMBER 1973 NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, FINALLY MADE IT OFFICIAL ON JANUARY 11. LIBYA FELL INTO STEP WITH ITS RADICAL ARAB BRETHREN BY RECOGNIZING THE "PRG" DURING A TWO-WEEK VISIT IN TRIPOLI BY "PRG" REPRESENTATIVE NGUYEN VAN TIEN, DECEMBER 26-JANUARY 12.
LEHMANN

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SUMMARIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SAIGON00664
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750020-0514
From: SAIGON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750140/aaaabivj.tel
Line Count: 726
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 14
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <14 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EMBASSY SAIGON NORTH VIET-NAM BI-WEEKLY NO. 26 SUMMARY: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ON PHUOC LONG FIGHTING HAS
TAGS: PFOR, MILI, EGEN, PGOV, PINR, VN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006